

Note-

237 rials which could well be made use of, such as skin, bone, and shell, are hardly used at all.

[189] Putnam claims that they are not used in his area, although he writes that sometimes the Pygmies wear horn charms borrowed or stolen from the villagers. Virtually no use other than magical is made of bone, horn, or shell, as far as one can tell from reports from any part of the Ituri. Among the archers there are few of the skin quivers and bow covers mentioned by

[252] Schebesta (1952, 124). Putnam (MS) further
[262] states that he has never known these Pygmies to skin game; they cook and eat the skin as well as the flesh.

237 Schebesta (1952, 124), however, writes that
411 hide quivers are plentiful, particularly in the western part of the forest, less so among the archers in the east, where arrows are always carried in a bundle held in the left hand. Schebesta (1952, 124) also mentions the wrist protector, made of monkey skin, used by

237 archers. He makes other reference to the use of
[291] skin as belts and for adornment and, occasion-
[301] ally, the use of the skin of a Colobus monkey to
[184] cover the back, but he does not specify to which Mbuti his remarks apply. We assume that, unless he specifies otherwise, he refers to the archers among whom he worked on his second trip.

(P.165-B)

[ARCHERS]

There are different types of knives, some hafted, some unhafted, always worn in the belt by women and used for preparing food and for sharpening the pointed sticks used by them in both gathering activities and in cooking. Other items that might be found in or around an Efe archer hut include hunting equipment, such as a bow and quiver of arrows (Figs. 6-9), a dog bell (Fig. 7i), an ax for cutting small saplings and sometimes used in the search for honey, an ivory or wooden beater for barkcloth, clay pipe bowls (Fig. 5), hide slings for carrying children, and a few personal possessions such as hunting charms. Of exceptional interest, perhaps, is the basketry press (Fig. 11), used among the archers for extraction of juice from fruits.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Clothing consists mainly of barkcloth worn tucked between the legs. The upper part of the body is rarely covered, and then only by a skin cape worn over the shoulders by old men. Basketry caps are worn by men, and sometimes fur bands which may also be worn on the arm. Schebesta also mentions bracelets of shredded bark. Both men and women may wear, around the upper arm or wrist, fiber cords to which small pieces of wood, teeth, and other charms are attached. Leaves, flowers, nuts, and feathers

[P. 167-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 197-A]

- 412 truly nomadic group. All metal knife and ax
439 blades are obtained ready-made from the vil-
lagers, also metal arrow and spearheads (which
are frequently used as knives). The hafting and
fitting of shafts may be done by the Pygmy
himself, and certainly the arrow shafts are
285 Pygmy-made. Open-mesh baskets (Fig. 41) are
439 made by the women, who also obtain close-mesh
baskets (Fig. 42) from the villagers.

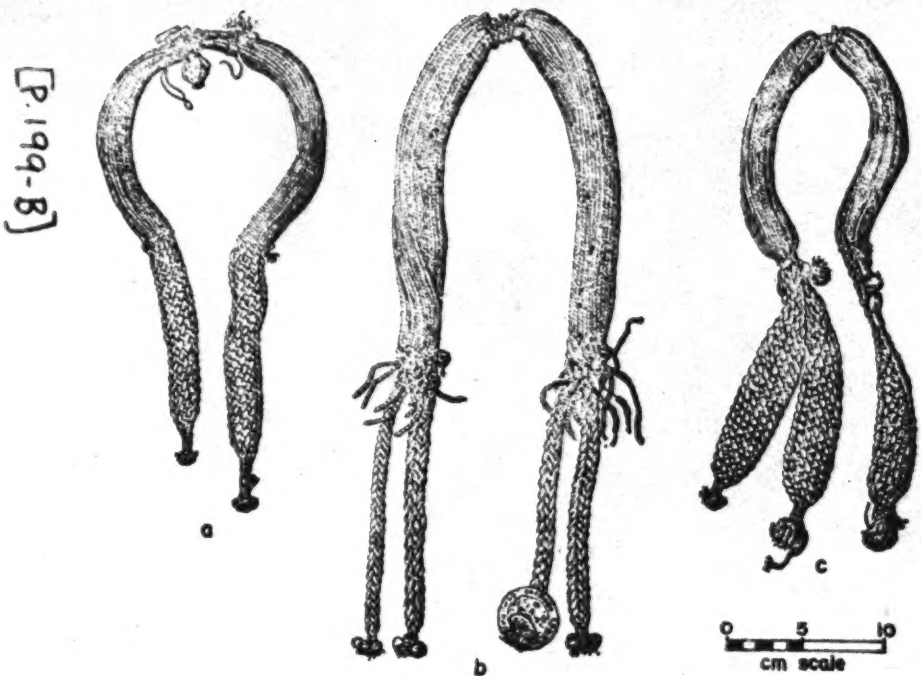
DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

- 291 Clothing of the net hunters is also similar to
[789] that described by Schebesta, but with less orna-
mentation of fur and skin and less use of charms
and amulets. Putnam denies the use of skins for
clothing among the Pygmies he knows. Anne
287 Putnam ranks the manufacture of barkcloth as
the major industry in a net-hunting camp,
occupying even more time than the making and
286 repair of nets. Putnam once said that the Pyg-
mies did not make nets, but obtained them from
the villagers; later, he changed his opinion.¹ A
net is never made complete, but in the course of
repair pieces are added or removed to start a
new net.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mburi

[NET HUNTERS]

291.



[P.199-8]

FIG. 28. a-c. Belts, *mokaba*, for barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Plaited by women from strips of vine around a vine core.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 200-A]

287 red dye. For painting designs on barkcloth,
386 either a finger or a twig may be used. The de-
531 signs vary considerably, and one piece of bark-
cloth may have three or four distinct patterns.

[197] This is possibly in imitation of the local villager
practice of sewing strips of barkcloth together
to obtain larger pieces, resulting in the juxtapo-
sition of different designs.

- 291 The making of belts (Fig. 28) from plaited
283 fiber and the twisting of lengths of shredded
824

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285

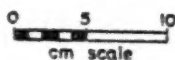
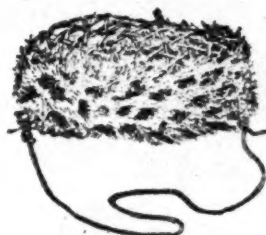


FIG. 29. Basketry hat, *ngala*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Made at whim by young or old, men or women, and worn without regard to status.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 200-B]

nkusa vine into cord, mainly used for net re-
pairing, are also everyday occupations. The
net hunters use vine much more widely than
the archers who use it for basketry rather than
cordage. Putnam also mentions the use of cer-
tain types of vine that give water. *Njelani* is a
long vine used for making children's swings and
the high swings used by young men mainly dur-
ing the honey season.

BODY DECORATION

Body decoration and mutilation as described
in the Putnam material is similar to that re-
counted by Schebesta, except that in the paint-
ing of designs on the body Anne Putnam men-
tions the use of *kangay*, a black dye obtained
from the juice of the gardenia fruit (Fig. 30a).
This is applied with a small twig. Use of red and
white is confined to ceremonial occasions. A va-
riety of hats and headdresses is used by the net
hunters, also bracelets, necklaces, combs, and
lip plugs. All of these may be made by the
Mbuti, though often in imitation of village ar-
tifacts (Fig. 30).

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
462
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415
372
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[P 299]

/Plate 33/
/Caption appears on p. 298/

1: Turnbull E-4, S (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbutil

[NET HUNTERS]



224
484
• 291

/Plate 34-3/

/Caption appears on p. 300/

[P. 301-8]

1: Turnbull E-4, 6 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbutil

[NET HUNTERS]

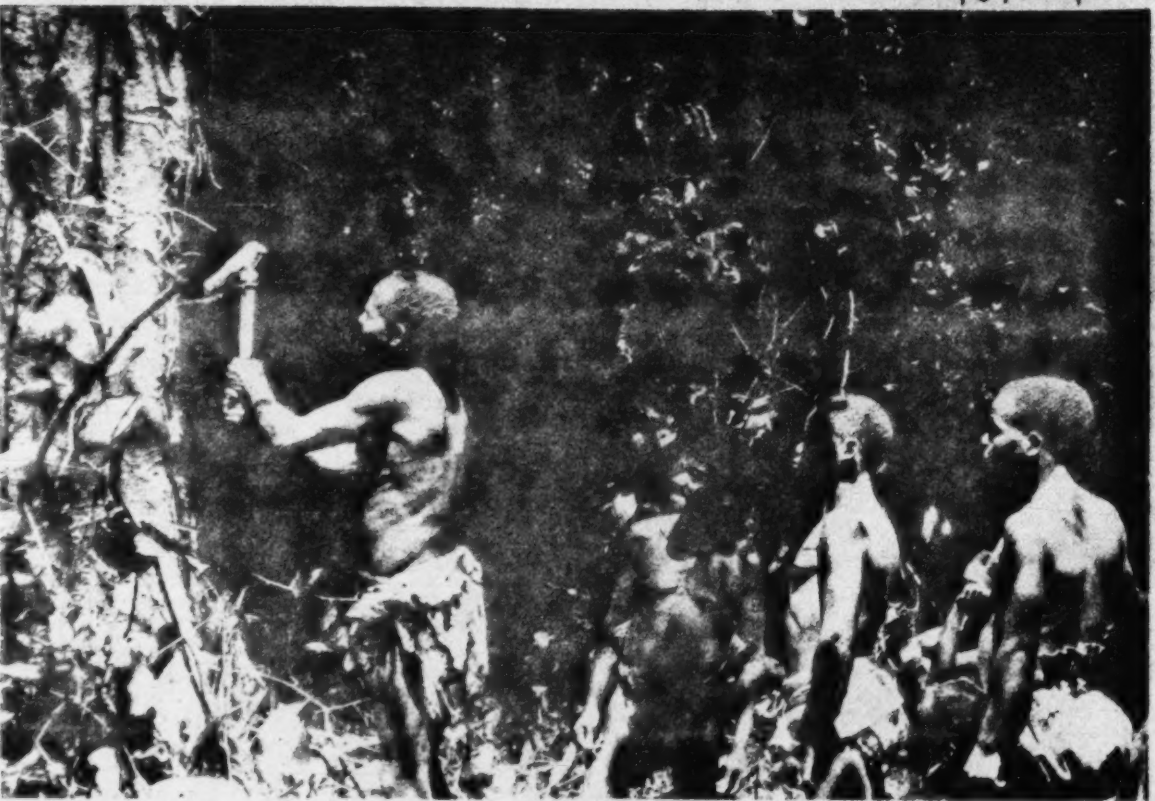
224
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/Plate 35-A/
/Caption appears on p. 302/
[P. 303-A]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

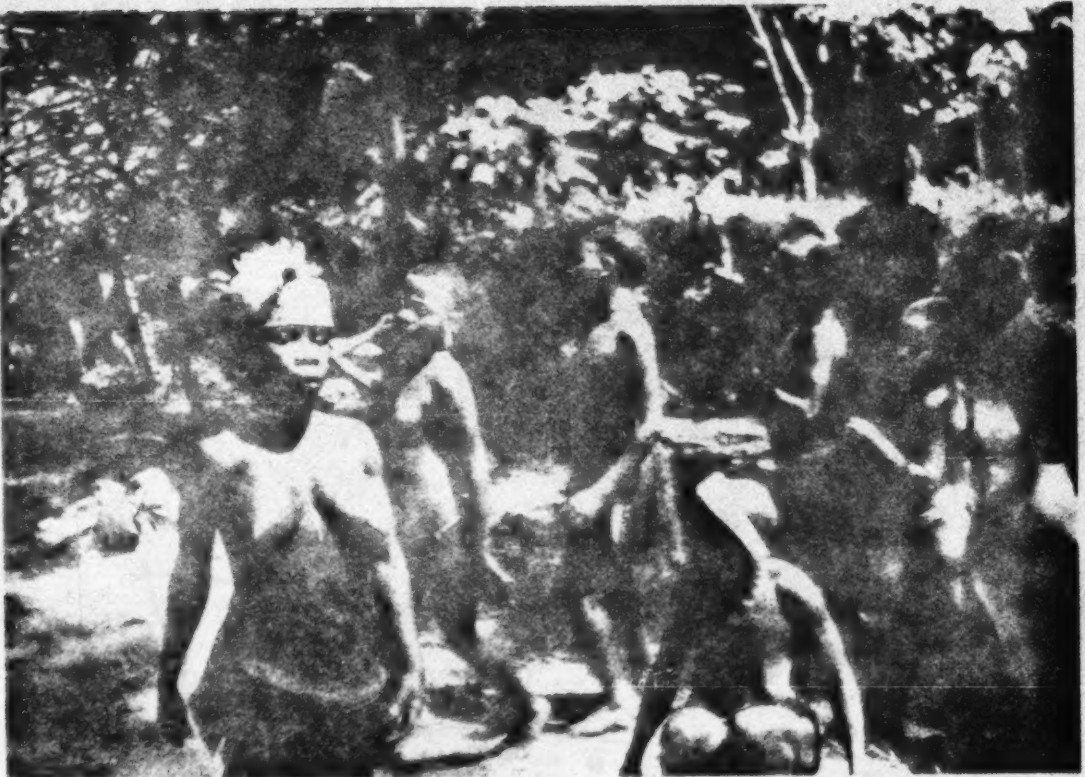
142
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/Plate 36-A/

/Caption appears on p. 304/
[P. 305-A]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbati



[309] /Plate 38/
/Caption appears on p.308/

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P108-B]

622
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2. The village headman's baraza, used for receiving visitors and holding public discussions.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P.108-D]

PC
137
252
291
571
412
142
415



4. Mbuti girl helps village woman pound manioc in shade of plantain tree.

[P 108-E]

142
516
342
302
291
854



5. Mbuti women and girls rest as they bring rolling leaves into village for village houses.

Congo-Kinshasa FOI

[P.108-F]

P
C
342
374
464
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571
142



6. Mbuti men help villager build a new house, having cut and fetched the saplings for him.

7. Mbuti youths, in clothes provided by their kpara, are fed as part of their "payment."

P
C
571
465
464
291
142



2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.108-H]

361
344
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142
291
516



9. The Mbuti village baraza was never completed, and remained marked only by four posts.

142
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412
415
853
482

10. While in the village camp, an Mbuti mother borrows or steals many luxuries too bulky or heavy to carry with her into the forest. Of the mortar and pestle, stool, metal cooking vessels, enamel bowls and bottle of palm oil, she will probably return to the forest with only one vessel.



2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P.108-J]

P
535
142
291

*P
[177]

P
[302]
[585]

12. Mbuti women may take part in a hoop dance while in the village, but traditional forest songs and dances are forbidden outside the forest. Note the body decoration on the leg of the woman to the rear; the dye is obtained from the gardenia fruit.



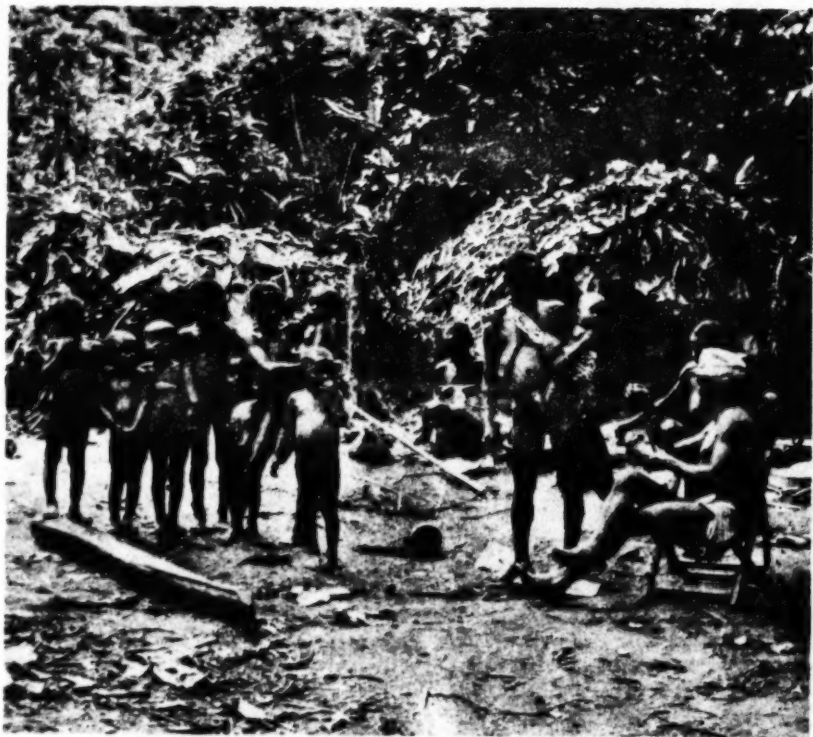
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13. A village wedding is arranged for the Mbuti hunter Makubasi. Here his bride, flanked by two sisters, stands in the middle of the village on banana-leaf cushions, fanned by her kpara's sister. By arranging such marriages, the villagers hope to maintain some control over the Mbuti they believe they "inherit."



[P.156-C]

142
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[164]

19. In one of Cephu's camps, Aberi talks to his family. His wife, her face ravaged by yaws, holds their youngest child in a sling of fresh-painted bark cloth.

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[82]
[152]
[66]
[648] ther away from the village, and thus further away from a source of friction).

There was no singing, but it was done as Moké suggested. Murmurs of assent came from all over camp, with both Masisi and Manyalibo agreeing loudly.

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- 221
621 3. Particularly at the beginning of the honey season, when tendencies to fission are already well marked, disputes over food, particularly over hunger attributable to poor hunting, are made occasions for enlarging the rift between the camp segments. Thus one day old Tungana's younger son, named after his distant relative Njobo, came flying back from the hunt in hot pursuit of his wife, Nakoranja. Nakoranja, much to everyone's surprise, had lost her bark cloth and was holding a leaf in front of her private parts, occasionally removing it to emphasize her cry of "I am naked!"

Having made her point she disappeared into her hut and modestly continued her description as to how her husband had torn her bark cloth off to shame her because she wanted to join her "sister" (who was a member of another segment), Ekianga's youngest wife. Young [224] Njobo, standing outside the hut, told the camp that his wife was useless on the hunt, that she could not run as fast as even the slowest animal and let them all escape. Now they had no food and they would be hungry all day. Evidently she could not run as fast as her husband either, for he had caught her and given her a sound beating, ripping off her bark cloth when she tried to escape. He did not deny this, and Nakoranja said that this entitled her to pack up and leave.

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166 Evidently this was something that had been brewing for some time, and when the hunt came back and it was seen that the dispute was forming along the line of fission, Tungana intervened and said that there was no sense in everyone making so much noise, that the next day he and his wife were going to leave for the village, and that young Njobo and Nakoranja were coming with them to look after them. The discussion immediately turned to the dangers of the trail, with the two segments siding with each other in common and equally insincere but polite opposition to Tungana's suggestion.

621
626 4. At a later stage, when fission became inevitable, discontent being so high that the sections were not uniting in the hunt and therefore not getting any meat, old Moké intervened. He stood in midcamp and harangued each section in turn, facing it and naming its members. He emphasized that this was the honey season and that hunting [221] should be stopped anyway, and everyone go to the forest in search of their honey trees, "you in this direction, you in that."

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 228-A]



(412) 21. A young Mbuti mother, sitting on a log, prepares mushrooms, using a village
(439) knife. Another such knife lies across her left foot. It is probably the most widely
used utensil for which the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers, though still
not indispensable.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.228-B]

142
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251
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22. A young hunter prepares meat on a smoking rack for bringing to the village.

[P. 228-C]



23. A youth, Kenge,
strips a piece of bark
before it is soaked, prior
to hammering it into
cloth.

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24. Strips of bark,
softened by water or
smoke, are hammered
into cloth up to eighteen
inches wide. There are
many individual
preferences for different
types of bark.



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[P. 228-D]



142
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881
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25. Akidinimba celebrates her puberty and her forthcoming marriage during an elima dance.



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26. A young Mbuti mother, Epini, with her infant wrapped in a specially chosen piece of bark cloth. She will freely allow other women to fondle and even nurse her child, and will pass it around for the men to hold and admire.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.276-A]



142
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27. A common way of showing displeasure is to sulk, talking to no one. A young girl here keeps her back to her husband, wherever he might be, and refuses to cook his food.

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[P.276-C]



142
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291
415
516
372

29. A hunting fire is lit to announce to the forest that the hunt is setting out. Hunters on their way will pass by, but no special ritual is performed.

[224]

[P. 276-E]



142
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482
372

11. Cephu's wife, carrying an ember of the family hearth wrapped in fire-resistant leaves, and with her carrying basket on her back, sets off after the hunt. She will act as a beater with the other women and children, and will gather wild foods on the way.

(224)
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(222)

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.276-G]



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34. A youth, recently initiated, is still considered far from manhood in the forest. Here he helps an older brother set up the net.

1881
1885
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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P276-H]



35. When an animal falls into the net it is quickly caught by the hunters and carefully extracted before it damages the netting. A youth stands by for the kill.

[P.276-I]



142
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36. When the kill is assured, a youth signals back to the camp and to other hunters, to let them know what kind of game has fallen into whose net. Relatively complex messages can be signaled in this way, variations in rhythm combining with variations in pitch achieved by flexing the elbow, which forms a sound box when clapped with the other hand.

[P. 276-J]



222
142
302
291 •
412

37. Honey-gathering usually involves climbing to great heights, but honey is occasionally found near ground level. Only if found in fallen tree trunks can the honey be collected by women.

38. Honey is highly prized, but is nonetheless shared among all. Here Keimoké's uncle, Masalito, shares with his favorite nephew.

222
142
302



THE WORLD OF THE FOREST

ing the power, small as they were, to kill elephants. The Pygmies today still kill elephants single-handed, armed only with a short-handled spear. And they blend so well with the forest foliage that you can pass right by without seeing them. As for their having tails, it is easy enough to see how this story came into being, if the Pygmies seen by the Portuguese dressed as they do today, as is more than likely. The loincloth they wear is made of the bark of a tree, softened and hammered out until it is a long slender cloth, tucked between the legs and over a belt, front and back. The women particularly like to have a long piece of cloth so that it hangs down behind, almost to the ground. They say it looks well when dancing. 000 224 291 (175)

Some of the accounts of nineteenth-century travelers in the Congo are no less fanciful, and it was George Schweinfurth who first made known to the world, in his book *The Heart of Africa*, that Pygmies not only existed but were human. He was following in the path of the Italian explorer Miani, who a few years earlier had reached the Ituri but had died before he could return. One of the most curious of little-known stories about the Pygmies is that Miani actually sent two of them back to Italy, to the Geographic Association, which had sponsored his trip. The president of the association, Count Miniscalchi of Verona, took the two boys and educated them. Contemporary newspaper reports describe them as strolling the boulevards, arm in arm with their Italian friends, chatting in Italian. One of them even learned to play the piano. From the present Count Miniscalchi I learned that both Pygmies eventually returned to Africa, where one died and the other became a saddler in the Ethiopian army. He last heard from the latter, who must then have been an old man, just before the outbreak of World War II. 175

Stanley describes his meetings with the Pygmies in the Ituri, but without telling us much about them, and indeed little was known beyond the actual fact of their existence until a White Father, the 175 114

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
291
239



Tungana, a grandfather many times over, in a gennet-skin cap.

[P. 72-B]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

000
Opposite: Asofalinda's eldest daughter being painted with *kangay*
juice for a wedding.

142
291
881
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585
Akidinimba (in hat) celebrates her forthcoming wedding with the
other girls of the *elima*.



[P. 72-G]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P
C
137
252
142
291
571
412
415



A Pygmy woman (right) helps a villager pound locally grown rice.

[P. 72-K]

THE CRIME OF CEPHU

had not left with the hunt but had gone off on his own, as he usually²²⁴
did, with his bow and arrows. I was surprised to see him. He said,¹²³
"Don't follow them any longer; they will deafen you with their
noise. Cephu will spoil the hunt completely—you'll see." He added
that he had happened to be nearby, waiting for the animals either
to break through the nets or to escape around the edges. He picked^[136]
up a large civet cat, the skin slightly stained where it had been
pierced by an arrow. "Not very good for eating," Moke commented,^[237]
"but it will make a beautiful hat. Cephu won't get even that—he is^[291]
too busy watching other people's nets to watch his own. His is a good
net to stand behind with bow and arrow!" He chuckled to himself
and swung the cat high in the air.

We ambled back slowly, Moke talking away, sometimes to him²²⁴
self and sometimes to me. On the way he stopped to examine some
tracks that were fresh, appearing over the tracks made by the hunters
earlier on. He announced that they were made by a large male leopard,
and that it was probably watching us from "over there"—waving
casually to our right with his bow. Then he moved on in his
leisurely way, humming to himself.

Back in the camp I was surprised to find that some of the hunters
were back already, including Maipe. They had taken a short cut,
and traveled twice as fast as Moke and myself. Some of them said
it was because rain had threatened, but others, more bluntly, said
it was because they did not like the noise Cephu was making. There
were a number of women in the camp, and they seemed anxious to
change the subject, so Moke told them about the leopard tracks.
They laughed and said what a shock the hunters might get if they²²⁴
came back along that trail. One of them started miming the leopard⁸²⁵
lying in wait, its eyes staring from that side to this. The others⁵³⁶
formed a line and pretended to be the hunters. Every few steps the
"leopard" turned around and jumped up in the air, growling fiercely,
sending its pursuers flying to the protection of the trees.

THE FOREST PEOPLE

361 this area. It was named Eboyo, and the villagers belonged to the
[103] BaBira tribe, predominant in the southern and central Ituri. Here
[101] there were two chiefs—the traditional chief, Sabani, and the govern-
621 ment-appointed chief, Kapamba. Kapamba's job was to see that the
622 right crops were planted, harvested, and marketed to the Belgian
648 government, and that the taxes were collected and paid over. The
439 Belgian policy was largely to let the people in this rather difficult
and unprofitable part of the Congo live as they had always lived.
The only stipulations were that they should live peacefully, and that
in addition to their own small plantations they should cultivate more
ground for crops which would both help to feed immigrant labor
forces, such as the road gangs and the workers at Station de Chasse,
and be of commercial value to the Belgians in the world market for
such products as cotton, palm oil and groundnuts.

622 Kapamba was not a popular figure. He was small and pathetically
554 ugly. His hut was at the very far end of the village, behind a large
hillock on the top of which stood his baraza. Only his close relatives
and a few Pygmies lived near him.

In the village proper, Sabani's house was in the center. Sabani
was a sly old man whose father had married a Lese girl, from the
[648] eastern edge of the forest. Sabani changed his tribal affiliation to suit
the convenience of the moment, and the Belgians found it impos-
sible to deal with him, so they appointed Kapamba in his place. But
Sabani was still the real power in the village, and the real authority.
He was also the chief ritual authority for miles around, and he was
a frightening sight when painted and dressed for his role of witch
doctor at the time of the nkumbi initiation ceremony. Even on
622 other occasions when he wished to be formal—such as the visit of a
554 Belgian administrator—he was no less inspiring. Ragged trousers
• 291 came down to within a few inches of feet that were barely covered by
[648] ill-fitting shoes, slit where they pinched so as to be more comfortable.
— An old khaki tunic covered his bare chest, and on his head he wore

THE WORLD OF THE VILLAGE

either a pith helmet decorated with gennet skin, or else a long-haired wig of monkey fur. In his hand he carried a metal walking stick that had once been the handle and stem of an umbrella. Sometimes he wore the gennet skin around his waist, or tucked into his belt, or hung from his neck. It was the symbol of his ritual authority, and it contained the charms from which he derived his power. Generally Sabani was a kindly and gentle man, wise and good. But his loyalties were narrow, confined to his own kin and a few friends. Beyond that circle he was a man to be feared rather than trusted.

Eboyo also had its Pygmy village, not far from the main village, but Sabani preferred to keep his Pygmies in the forest where the administration could not see what they were doing. Generally they were tending illicit plantations, of hemp among other things. Sabani also had his own still, where he used to have a powerful spirit made from manioc. He was frequently drunk but never incapable. At all times he was an imposing and commanding figure. In his village there were some thirty families, including Kapamba's. Camp Putnam and Dar es Salaam were about half that size.

The attitude of all these villagers to the forest was the same. They made their villages as open as possible, and they built their houses without any windows. They tried to ignore the world around them, because for them the forest was hostile, something to be feared and fought. Even after cutting it down there was the constant labor required to keep it from growing back. It was filled with evil spirits that cursed the soil so that although it would bear gigantic mahogany trees it would produce only the most meager fruits for the villagers.

The tribes of this area had once been plains dwellers, with herds of cattle, living in the friendly open spaces of East Africa. When they were driven into the forest by more powerful tribes, they brought as much of their plains culture with them as they could. But their cattle died off, and they had to live by cultivation alone. They

Mbuti

Zaire FO1

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 563
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 P
 581
 P
 Z
 186
 266
 291
 173

ever, a one-way process; no Negroes could endure the pygmy way of living, and none of them ever marry pygmies.

The interplay between Negroes and pygmies may be illustrated by a number of examples in which they disagree on historical facts. The Negroes say that the pygmies once went naked, like animals. The pygmies hotly deny this, and assert that they always wore loin cloths. The Negroes admit that they themselves were once cannibals, but say that the pygmies ate more human flesh than they did. This too the pygmies deny; they claim that they never ate human flesh except when the Negroes gave it to them.

Z
 563
 581
 P
 177
 581

In addition to the exchange of food and, formerly, protection, which form the basis for Negro-pygmy interaction, there is another activity which helps to cement their relationship. The Negroes have a circumcision school, of the usual Negro variety. This school is held about once in four or five years. There is no specific interval; it is probable that they wait until there are enough boys ready to form a class of the right size. These boys are anywhere from nine to fourteen years of age. Now the pygmies associated with these Negroes may send their boys through this same school with the sons of their hosts. Thus, the pygmy boys are away from home several months, are in close association with the Negro boys, and are taught the same secrets that the Negro boys learn. At the end they are all circumcised together, and their parents come to the Negro village to dance and get drunk with the parents of the Negro boys.

Z
 P
 561

The pygmies are thus age-graded like the Negroes. Each class has its own cheer, or song, as in American colleges. Each class also has its own name, such as "Hurricane" or "great army worm," depending on some event

[P. 325-A]